DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 300 281 SO 018 777

AUTHOR Reardon, Betty
TITLE Obstacles to Disarmament Education. Centre for Peace Studies Occasional Paper No. 6.
INSTITUTION Saint Martin's Coll., Lancaster (England). Centre for Peace Studies.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-946357-11-0
PUB DATE 83
NOTE 32p.; Based on a study prepared for the Unesco seminar, "Obstacles to Disarmament and the Ways of Overcoming Them" (1978).
AVAILABLE FROM Information Officer, Centre for Peace Studies, St. Martin's College, Lancaster, England LA1 3JD.
PUB TYPE Viewpoints (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Cultural Awareness; *Disarmament; Elementary Secondary Education; Nationalism; Political Issues; Postsecondary Education; Social Studies; *World Problems
IDENTIFIERS *Peace Education

ABSTRACT

Obstacles to disarmament education fall into three general categories: political, perceptual, and pedagogical. At the elementary school level, these obstacles occur because of: (1) a lack of opportunities for cross-cultural experiences; (2) the socialization processes that enforce the belief that a child's culture is superior to and competitive with other cultures; and (3) the educational systems' roles in the development of national identity and loyalty. Obstacles occur at the secondary school level because of: (1) the reinforcement of nationalism and the promotion of military service; (2) an emphasis on competitive sports; (3) the pre-military service organizations, such as the Junior Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC); and (4) a nationalistic approach to the study of history. Major barriers to disarmament education at the university level include a lack of resources to support these programs and the entrenchment of traditional disciplines that pay little or no attention to peace issues. Adult and community education programs often focus on meeting people's immediate needs, offer programs for specific skills development, operate with limited resources, and do not focus on global issues. However, the moral, civic, cultural, scientific, and technical elements of international education should focus on disarmament issues. (JHP)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED300281

Obstacles to Disarmament Education

Betty Reardon

Occasional Paper No. 6
Centre for Peace Studies

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
BETTY REARDON

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC).

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

SO 018 777

S. Martin's College
Lancaster

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

OBSTACLES TO DISARMAMENT EDUCATION

BETTY REARDON

Betty Reardon is Program Developer for the Peacemaking, Militarism and Education Program of the United Ministries in Education. She is also Co-ordinator of the Peace Education Seminar at Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York. This paper first appeared in the Bulletin of Peace Proposals, 1979:4

CONTENTS

1.	General aspects	1
	- political obstacles	1
	- perceptual obstacles	2
	fear	2
	militarism	2
	ignorance	3
	- pedagogical obstacles	4
	the affective domain	4
	the cognitive domain	6
2.	Particular aspects	9
	- obstacles at primary level	9
	- obstacles at secondary level	13
	- obstacles at university level	15
	- obstacles in the non-formal sector	18
	- obstacles in adult education	20
3.	Concluding remarks	22
4.	Notes	24

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Centre for Peace Studies

© Betty Reardon, 1983
ISBN 0 946357 11 0

1. GENERAL ASPECTS

Obstacles to education for disarmament, some of which arise because of the meaning and nature of disarmament education itself,[1] fall into three general categories: political, perceptual, and pedagogical.

Political Obstacles

First and foremost among the political obstacles is the international system itself, which recognizes the right of all nations to arm in their own defense and to use armed force in the pursuit of their own interests. Although conventional and customary international law have declared the use of armed force for aggressive or repressive purposes to be unacceptable, this has not significantly limited the behaviour of most nations. Indeed, conflict of economic interest, of ideology, and of the quest for dominance and power have intensified the constant threat and frequent use of armed force. The risks increase day by day - including, clearly, the nuclear risk - and the reality of minor violence certainly is not decreasing. The true tragedy, however, is that for the most part these political realities tend to be viewed as natural phenomena beyond the powers of ordinary mortals to deal with constructively, as an inevitable part of the human experience; and the political intricacies of extricating ourselves from this state of affairs are seen as so complicated and complex as to defy the human imagination.

From this perspective, of course, the political problems are as much problems of attitudes, of acceptance, and of lack of creative imagination as they are problems of power politics and political structures; and as such they are essentially educational problems which should be the concern of educators. In any event, they most certainly indicate the special political responsibility which educators have for the achievement of a disarmed world - even though, as is well known, this responsibility entails some political risk, there being few if any societies in which the sovereign right of State to arm may be publicly questioned with impunity.

Perceptual Obstacles

Although the political obstacles may seem the most severe, and the pedagogical the most challenging, it actually is the perceptual obstacles that are the key to both educational and political action. What educators and political leaders need to understand is how people perceive the need for, and functions of, systems of security which depend on weaponry, particularly the present highly destructive and technologically sophisticated weaponry. In response to a recent survey of peace educators concerning their perceptions of the major obstacles to disarmament, the following were most frequently mentioned as most severe: fear, militarism and ignorance.[2]

a) Fear

Fear of disarmament was high on most lists, the fear coming from three related subsidiary fears: first and foremost, fear of the economic consequences of disarmament, of unemployment, and of economic dislocation in particular; second, fear of 'the enemy' and of being defenseless in a world in which one party or several, but not all, might be disarmed;[3] and finally, but less clearly articulated, fear of the unknown. People in general seem to have difficulty in envisioning a disarmed world, and therefore fear what they cannot describe to themselves as a reasonable set of living circumstances. Circumstances under which persons and nations would not need arms to defend themselves seem incomprehensible to most people.

b) Militarism

Another important perceptual obstacle frequently mentioned, which may account for the incomprehensibility of a disarmed world, was the militarism of most societies, in which good citizenship consists of obeying authority and being punished for 'disloyalty'. The belief that social order depends upon obeying military authority is quite widespread,

as is an equation of dignity with strength or strength with violence. These ideas, it was noted particularly by the teacher educators, are reinforced by present methods of recording and teaching history. People educated by the public authorities usually equated support of the military with patriotism and virtue, and dissent therefrom with lack of patriotism, treason, ignorance, or naivete - a notion relating to the general distrust of others and the disbelief that all parties in the international war system ever would disarm. The educators also pointed to a close relationship between not only the concepts of military strength and 'national security' but also the concepts of personal identity and 'national security'. The preservation of the nation preserves one's identity, and the military provides a symbol of that identity together with a symbol of selfless (even ultimate) sacrifice in the public - hence the personal - interest. Some of the educators also noted a widely held, even if erroneous, belief that human beings are rational and that they are or would be rational and restrained in their use of weapons.

c) Ignorance

Most of the educators also identified ignorance as a major obstacle. In general, they reported, people lack sufficient and appropriate information to perceive possibilities for disarmament. This they attributed to an emphasis on war as opposed to peaceful alternatives in history courses and, most especially, to negligible teacher training on questions of war, peace and disarmament, and minimal coverage by the media of major issues related to arms control and disarmament. In general, the peace educators lamented the lack of understanding regarding arms control and disarmament and the widespread belief that the problems of arms control and disarmament are, in the main, too technical for the average citizen to comprehend. This widespread ignorance, some asserted, made it possible for 'the

military-industrial complex' to exploit its knowledge and sophistication about weaponry, to maintain its specific interest in continued weapons production, and to exercise an inordinate influence over both public policy and public information. Some of the educators believed that there is a lack of public interest in these issues which may account for ignorance, but most felt that this lack of interest is due primarily to the failure of the media and political leadership to present disarmament issues in a manner comprehensible to most citizens.

Pedagogical Obstacles

Pedagogical obstacles to education for disarmament, which stem from the political and perceptual, fall into the affective as well as the cognitive domain. Indeed, the affective may be even more crucial then the cognitive in the whole area of teaching and learning for a disarmed world.

a) The affective domain

As we review the perceptual problems, we see that they have high emotional content, a content which often is avoided because of the emotional conflict and discomfort such perceptions usually cause. We know, for example, that it is not natural for human beings to seek to confront their own fears; yet, unless this is done sensitively and constructively, there is little hope of moving on to the content and analysis that is required to understand the technical and political problems of disarmament. Educational programming in this area must recognize that such fears exist. It must work constructively to enable people to deal with these problems and, if not to overcome them, at least to explore the true reasons for the fears. For example, education should help people explore whether their fear of loss of security as a consequence of disarmament really stems from ignorance of alternative security systems, or if it stems from the normal and all pervasive fear of change, or of the strange, the new, the alien, the

unknown, and the unexperienced. For if the latter is true, then affective learning has even greater importance than we assume. A world of optimism, however, is warranted by the fact that part of the education of every small child involves helping her (through life experience and by developing confidence in others such as parents and teachers) to overcome fears of abandonment, falling, and various other 'natural disasters' which we all learn are more or less subject to our own behaviour. By the time they walk and talk, people come to understand that they themselves have some responsibility for their own security and that others care for their welfare. Thus, we must realize that lack of self-confidence and distrust of others is a major obstacle to education for a warless world. Learning designed to create confidence and trust must therefore be an integral part of disarmament education.

Closely related to fear is the emotion of hatred - hatred of an enemy who threatens our security, our life, and our identity; and who does so because of values and behaviours which appear less than 'civilized' because they are different from our own. Disarmament education should try to overcome such hatred by seeking to eradicate irrational prejudices, be they cultural or ideological, from all educational materials and practices. The misguided belief that inculcating such prejudices creates loyalties to one's own culture or nation poses a major problem for the kind of education we hope to develop, a problem which never can be overcome unless systematic efforts to root out the prejudices are undertaken by all educational systems. It is absolutely essential, as is noted in the 1974 UNESCO Recommendation,[4] that member States formulate policies for the improvement of international understanding and for overcoming the misconceptions and cultural ignorance which often permit the toleration of injustice as well as the nurturing of fear of the enemy which in turn nurtures the arms race. If, according to the guiding principles of the Recommendation,

education is presented from a global perspective, students will come to understand that the human species has a common planetary destiny, that we have more commonalities than differences, and that 'respect for other people, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life'[5] is absolutely essential to preservation of the species, its cultural diversity and its physical survival. In recognizing that interdependence militates against the continued acceptance of nationalistic forms of education (which reinforce hatred and prejudice and, consequently, continued maintainance of the arms system), the UNESCO Recommendation has pinpointed a major source of the affective obstacles to disarmament education.

Thus, the most essential correction to the emotional obstacles of fear, hatred, and prejudice is a fundamental (affective) respect for human life and dignity in keeping with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The absolute core of all social education, all learning environments, must be a fundamental commitment to the dignity of the human person and an insistence that full human rights for everyone be respected by all persons and governments. Further, it cannot be overemphasized that the most fundamental human right, the right to life, cannot be pursued without peace. War, the indiscriminate consumer of human lives, is in direct contradiction to the principles of human rights. Disarmament education should illustrate this contradiction and 'stress the inadmissability of the recourse to war'.[6]

b) The cognitive domain

In the cognitive area of factual knowledge, the most severe obstacles are lack of general information and disregard of particular areas of information.

Perhaps most obvious is the general inattention given to a systemic interpretation of either the world political system or the world ecological system. By and large, there still is a compartmentalized, linear, and

chronological organization to most social education. Students - indeed most citizens - fail to understand the systemic nature of the human social order, particularly at the global political level; and as a consequence they do not comprehend that each nation is but one component of a total system, that its actions and reactions are affected by the other components, and that unilateral - even bilateral or multilateral - actions are of necessity severely limited and almost always inadequate to the achievement of any single objective throughout the world political system.

Also conspicuous is the limited attention given in formal curricula to international institutions and organisations. There is little information presented about the United Nations, and virtually nothing is taught about UN efforts in the area of disarmament. Indeed, the substantive study of disarmament as such has almost no place in the required, even optional, curricula of schools and universities throughout the world. It appears that the only people who are well informed or who have a minimal comprehension of the concepts of disarmament and arms control are those who develop a special interest on their own. Disarmament, because, as previously mentioned, it has been presented as a highly technical and politically sensitive subject, is scarcely to be found in most educational settings. Most of the full courses currently offered are in a few research centres and graduate schools.

One cognitive obstacle, even more lamentable in that there are not technological obfuscations to prevent consideration in curricula and private discussion, is the paucity of information on alternatives to the arms system, both actual and historical as well as proposed and potential. Just as the concept of disarmament is hardly known to the general public, so are the concepts of non-violent processes for social change and conflict resolution unknown. The ever-growing field of scholarship on non-violent as well as less radical alternatives to the arms system is, however, rich in substance and should be included in the knowledge base of contemporary

12

social education. Although it may appear that these alternatives represent too great a threat to the established orders, it should be noted that all such proposals are not built upon the reallocation or re-ordering of power. Some simply advocate different modes of exercising power and of enforcing existing authority. There is a wide range of alternatives to armed force which can and should be considered to limit the arms race and to avoid the potential destruction it threatens.

2. PARTICULAR ASPECTS

Obstacles at the Primary Level

When we look at specific obstacles to disarmament education within particular educational settings, it seems almost ironic that so large and technical a problem as disarmament is perhaps most seriously impeded by the educational experience of the very young, sometimes even before their entry into primary school. In part, this problem is affected by their lack of opportunity to have cross-cultural experience or to understand lifestyles different from those of their immediate family and culture. Even more serious, however, is the socialization process which enforces a belief that the child's own culture is preferable if not superior to most or all other cultures.

With few exceptions, socialization seems also to foster the notion that every culture group is competitive with other groups and must struggle against them to achieve fulfilment nd survival. This enforcement of the concept of competition as the route to fulfilment and recognition can be seen unfortunately, even within families with children frequently competing for the attention of their parents or for other benefits coming from special recognition. Of course, blame for such competition is not to be laid only at the feet of the parents. It must be directed also to societies in general, most of which place a higher value on some persons than on others, thereby encouraging competition and ultimately nurturing beliefs in force, aggression, and other competitive modes for self-assertion and identity.

Such forms of behaviour provide a psychological base for the acceptance of the competitive nation-state system and of the psychological, social, and political environment which makes the arms race possible. To be sure, there is more often than not a conscious effort on the part of parents and teachers to discourage violent behaviour among children. But there has not been sufficient attention given to the discouragement of other forms of competitiveness. The high value placed on 'winning' and on being 'the best' or 'the strongest' often contributes to the acceptance of force. The larger social order constantly reinforces the lesson that force and violence are effective and acceptable means for achieving goals, especially when imposed against those who are 'different'.

It must be noted, however, that these circumstances are not equally pronounced in all societies. Noteworthy, for example, are the Tasaday, a stone-age people living in the Philippines according to a co-operative ethic, a loving people who have no word for 'war' in their language.[7] Clearly, if such simple societies represent the human species in its 'natural state', there is reason for hope. But it is not only to 'primitive' societies that we need look to find the hope needed to sustain risk. Amongst some cultures which put a higher premium on tradition and human relations than on 'modernization' and 'efficiency,' group co-operation is a strong socializing force, and individualism and competition as practiced in 'modern industrial' societies is viewed as anti-normative. Mexican-American children, for example, have had difficulty in the strongly competitive individualistic US school system. These children are taught by their tradition to co-operate with those in their ethnic group and to put a higher value on family and community than on self. Indeed, the dominant system which often has categorized them as 'slow learners' could learn much from these children about the techniques of peace and community building. Other examples could be cited, but these two are sufficient to make the point.

Also worth noting, for complementary reasons, is that the highest degree of competitive socialization exists in those societies which are the most active in the arms race, and that there is in these societies virtually an inverse ratio between individualism and self-confidence.[8] That is, the more individualistic a society in its drive to pursue its own aims irrespective of others within the system, the less confident it is of being able to pursue those interests without having recourse to force and extensive weapons systems. This circumstance should be closely examined in formulating educational programmes intended to socialize young people to a disarmed political system; for, without understanding the close relationship of early socialization to the character of the social order, it is highly unlikely that we can develop education appropriate to the achievement of a disarmed world. That is not so say that all societies which have instituted a co-operative ethic within their formal education system are not involved in the arms race. Some schools in some countries put a high emphasis on teamwork among children in work and play activities while simultaneously carrying out military exercises, with children learning the military ethic of co-operation to compete against those who hold different ideologies or who belong to different political systems. Their need, however, is to extend the co-operative ethic to the global level, to equate friendship and interdependence with global co-operation, and, perhaps above all, to develop comprehension of the negative consequences of competition, particularly when the competition results in armed combat or preparation for armed combat.

Another significant obstacle to disarmament education at the primary level is that, in these early years, the educational system encourages the development of national identity and national loyalty. Though a positive form of human development in and of itself, within the context of a highly competitive nation-state system, this larger (national) identity and loyalty commonly assumes a competitive character relative to others in

the world; people identify most strongly when they are in a competitive relationship and when differences rather than similarities are emphasized. In other words, although transcendence over ethnic differences is encouraged within nations, the process of transcendence has not been sufficiently extended to cultures and political ideologies beyond the given nation-state. In times of actual or cold war, this national identification to the discredit of other nations or systems is most pronounced, and it is extremely difficult to overcome when hostilities and competition have ceased in the formal sense.[9]

In this same respect, a very important influence on the socialization of young children (particularly in urban industrialized areas, although to be expected in other parts of the world with the rapid introduction of transistor radios) is the media. All pre-literate persons, but especially children with limited social experience, are profoundly affected by visual and oral messages and images projected through the media. Much of this effect is contrary to international understanding, peace, and human rights. In the United States, for example, young children are given prejudicial views of the people of Japan and Germany through the telecasting of films produced during World War II to rally the American people against their 'enemies'. Additionally, the media apparently affect children's attitudes towards violence. Although there is still some controversy over the effects of the media on the acceptance and development of violent behaviour, there is a growing belief amongst educators, largely as a result of observing immediate behaviour, that the media are encouraging admiration for and emulation of violent behaviour. Many also believe that the media impact negatively on the ability of children to comprehend the real human consequences of violence, the facts of death and destruction, and the true nature of war. Because many countries, especially those in the process of capitalist industrialization, are importing some of these same television programmes and films (and using many of the slick media techniques), this condition

can be considered to be incipiently if not actually global, and therefore a general obstacle to disarmament education amongst young children throughout the world.

Obstacles at the Secondary Level

It is at the secondary level where more formal citizenship or social education is usually provided. In the years from approximately 13 to 18, young people learn about the operations of their government, the philosophy and ideology which inform their governmental processes, and the positions their governments take in the world political system. It is also at this stage that they move from the general patriotic legends of their nations to a somewhat more detailed and sophisticated accounting of their national histories. Thus, the nationalistic aspects of education, begun at the primary level, are reinforced in the education of adolescents.

It is important to note in this connection that it is the adolescents (and not always the late ones) who usually make up the major portion of the fighting forces of nations, and that young people go from secondary school into the armed forces. Thus, one of the functions of secondary education, particularly of boys, has been to educate for the support of and service in the military. Some analysts believe that the extreme emphasis on competitive sports, particularly body-contact sports among adolescent boys, has been an important contributing factor to the acceptance of military service, i.e. a sort of pre-military training. Outbreaks of violence at football matches support this opinion, as does the infamous 'Soccer War'. In recent years, professional athletes in the United States who have reflected upon the social consequences of some of these sports have come to advocate new forms of physical education which eliminated competition, particularly games which are competitive with outside groups from other schools or nations where the 'otherness' is a reason for competing with and winning out over the

opponent. For years, of course, there have been observations among such former imperial powers as Great Britain that the extreme discipline of boys' secondary schools, together with their training on the sports field, provided the military efficiency which made possible the building of empire.

In addition, some schools at the secondary level, particularly in the United States, encourage actual formal conscription into a pre-military service (such as the Junior ROTC) which gives young people recreational and financial rewards for devoting time to the study of military techniques. There is, in fact, a growing movement amongst those concerned with peace to prevent the conscription of young Americans into ROTC, at least at the secondary school level if not at the university level. The most systematic efforts are being made in Japan and in the United States by the Committee on Militarism in Education.[10]

Perhaps the most important obstacle to disarmament education at the secondary level, however, is the curriculum itself. The extreme nationalism of the study of history has been researched and found to have given a distorted view of the behaviour of nations, particularly as regards nations which have been at war with each other.[11] Prejudice and ethnocentrism seem more strongly reflected in history and social education texts than in others. Further, history at the secondary level emphasizes wars, and only rarely the story of avoided wars or of events in which there has been peaceful resolutions of conflict. Such history reinforces the attitude that war is inevitable, to be expected as a continuous part of the human experience, and that there are few if any alternatives to war for playing out international competition in the pursuit of national goals. Furthermore, although there is a growing effort amongst global and peace educators to introduce such subjects as conflict resolution, peacemaking, and alternatives to violence, these subjects are as yet very limited, often looked upon with great suspicion as unpatriotic

or the devious plots of a competing or enemy state. In secondary schools throughout the world there is lamentably little information provided about other cultures, about the world in general, and about human rights, peace, and disarmament, in particular.

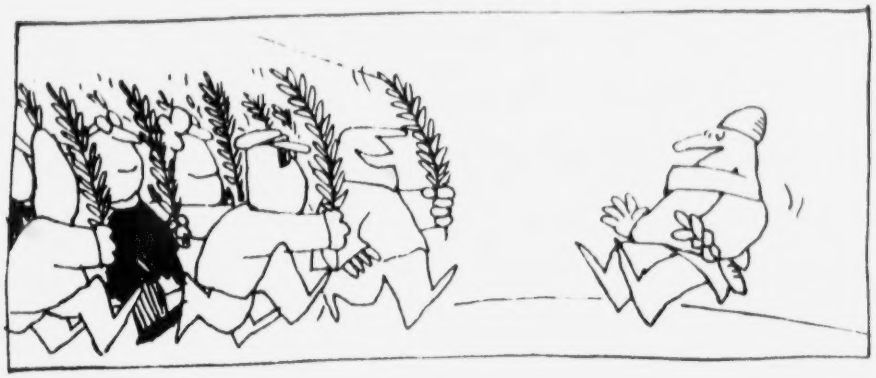
In countries once under colonial control, the information taught during the colonial period about the indigenous cultures was very limited, even distorted. Young people usually were taught more about the history of the colonial power than of their own people. Such nations must now build completely new curricula to teach their own national experience, although sometimes this need has prevented the newly independent countries from giving adequate attention to other parts of the world. An ethnocentrism similar to that of the colonial period has yet to be overcome; and while there are some efforts at multi-cultural education from a global perspective, for the most part these efforts are still too limited. A truly diverse cultural education from a global perspective is required as a basis for international understanding and as a climate in which disarmament education will be or can be pursued.

In sum, secondary education is too parochial and ethnocentric for the purpose of achieving a disarmed world. Further, it contains severe obstacles to that objective in the competitive, militaristic, and nationalistic forms of social education.

Obstacles at University Level

The major barriers to disarmament education at the university level are lack of resources for innovative education and research, and the limitations of academic tradition.

Although there is a rapidly growing peace education and research movement in the universities of some countries, resources available for the support of these efforts are scant in the extreme. Only a very small fraction of the percent of resources available to those scholars and researchers who are working on behalf of the weapons industry and the



20

military establishment is used for peace research and education. War research and development outstrips many thousands of times the work in peace research and development. For many years, the universities, have been used as the sites of research (particularly engineering, physics, and nuclear research) that has contributed and continues to contribute to the development and refinement of weaponry, both conventional and nuclear as well as chemical and biological.[12] For the most part, this activity has been funded by governments, with some funds coming from private foundations as well. Except for a few countries, such as Sweden, West Germany, and the Netherlands, governments have not offered resources to peace research and peace education. The differential in universities between the amount of resources going into war research and development and peace research and development is in microcosm a reflection of the percentages of resources which go to military as opposed to social needs in general.

Another serious barrier to disarmament education at the university level is the entrenchment of traditional disciplines which have paid little or no attention to peace and disarmament questions. Many scholars still view these issues as narrow segments of one discipline, and some assert that any inquiry into such subjects is advocacy rather than scholarship (in contrast to the research into weapons system and the like, which is seldom viewed as advocacy of the arms race). Thus, the practitioners of peace research and disarmament studies who require insights from and research by all of the disciplines, both scientific and behavioral, find it difficult to pursue their inquiries and teaching within the traditional pattern and curricula of the universities. Notwithstanding these obstacles, however, a few universities have established peace studies courses and departments which are innovative and interdisciplinary, often forming constuctive linkages among and between other departments, even those of a strong traditional bias. But it also should be observed that even within peace studies departments there is as yet insufficient emphasis on arms and

security issues.[13] Until all peace studies programs admit the necessity of including the subject of disarmament in their programs, even this field will not be adequate to the needs of education for a disarmed world.

A further obstacle at the university level is the role of the university in professional and vocational training. Since the war establishment far outstrips the peace establishment, opportunities for employment in the peace field and in the disarmament area are too limited to make, as is commonly required, the vocational argument for spending resources on this kind of education. There are beginning efforts to identify a whole range of professions in the peacemaking area - from peacekeeping (a form of soldiering) through mediation, arbitration, and other kinds of skills relevant to conflict management, in general, and the pursuit of social justice and human rights, in particular.[14] But these professions are not yet widely known or practiced, and information is not yet sufficiently available to have real influence on university course offerings. And vigorous though these beginning efforts have been, they still are dwarfed by education for the arms system. Military scholarships and training are frequently provided by universities, in addition to opportunities in most countries to attend national military academies. In some countries, scholarships are given to young men who commit themselves to a certain period of military service following the granting of their degrees. This influences the type of education they receive, so that at the university level there are far many more offerings in military science than in peace science or in inquiries into alternatives to arms for achieving disarmament.

Obstacles in the Non-Formal Sector

The purpose of most non-formal educational programs is to meet immediate needs, particularly of adults and usually within a limited geographical setting. Very often the needs are community development needs. There is, therefore, a legitimate preoccupation in such programs with understanding

the immediate environment and its potential for development, and with nurturing very specific skills for transforming that environment into one appropriate for a human community. Because of the pressure of immediate needs and because of limitations on resources, however, only a few of these non-formal educational programs for community building have addressed themselves to some of the wider issues of global problems and to the relationship of the immediate social system or setting to the other components of the global social system. Among the most notable efforts making these linkages are those being conducted by the organization CODECAL in Columbia[15] and the programs projected by the Southeast Asian Global Community Education Project, the first phase of which is being developed in the Philippines.[16] Each of these programs reflects a systematic attempt to relate issues and problems of the local setting to the global system, and to provide education that can enable participants to take some part in formulating opinions and positions relative to world politics.[17]

Although it is defensible to expend resources primarily on local concerns and needs in non-formal educational programs, it is nonetheless questionable to exclude such global issues as the arms race from such programs. Concentration on local objectives as exclusive goals serves to disenfranchise persons in these local areas who do not participate in the large global community and who have little or no say in the formation of global political policies, such as those relating to disarmament. Further, it is people in these settings who are most in need of the resources which many assert could be effectively converted to social and economic development were arms expenditures to be reduced. These same people are the victims of the gross disparities in the distribution of the world's wealth which is a conflict root and potential cause of armed struggle.

Non-formal education for adolescents and children tends to be offered in two instances: when formal schooling is not available, or when formal

schooling is inappropriate or irrelevant to the behaviour or learning style of the students or the values of their parents. The latter case, which produces alternatives and independent education, can sometimes be an advantage. But more often it is an obstacle to education for disarmament, because what is appropriate or relevant, even from the point of view of some students, often has been defined in terms much too personal to confront major societal issues adequately. Further, all people (and youngsters are no exception) tend to be interested in what they already know something about. Since information about disarmament,its consequences, and the problems of achieving it is so limited, youngsters are not likely to request such courses, nor express interest in them. This same obstacle, resulting from lack of general information, is to be found also in adult education programs.

Obstacles in Adult Education

In the three most frequently practiced forms of adult education, there is at present little place for education about disarmament. Adult education is for the most part either enriching or compensatory, or, in the more formal settings, oriented to advanced training in technical and professional skills. When programs are compensatory, they reflect the offerings of the normal curriculum of the established school system, and so do not focus notable attention on arms policy. With minor exceptions, the same condition prevails in the vocational and professional training programs. However, in vocational training through the armed forces there are opportunities to consider arms policy, albeit mainly for purposes antithetical to disarmament. Ordinarily, vocational training through the armed forces deals with methods for the use of arms, the repairing and maintenance of arms, or training for the vocation of the military. On the other hand, many technical skills which are not arms related, some of which could be used in the conversion of technology to peacetime uses and a fully disarmed world, also are taught. It is to the credit of some institutions and some military educators that observations and analyses about these

alternatives are sometimes, even if infrequently, made. It needs to be observed, too, that for many, especially the poor, the military is the only avenue to technical training.

A further obstacle in the vocational area applies to social learning in general, and not just to peace and disarmament in particular. Far too few vocational educational programs deal with the social need for and consequences of the skill being learned, how it fits into the total life pattern of a person, or what stage it represents in a life-long educational process. For the most part, the only exceptions are in programs now being developed in alternative technology and low-resource consumption industrial projects, projects often designed by persons having a larger social vision and who are motivated to achieve a society characterized by non-violence and social justice. One should also note, however, that there are some cases in which intermediate technology is seen as a step towards more 'sophisticated' techology and to more highly resource-consuming industries. Much of our present vocational education is aimed at training people to participate in the large-scale use of resources to maintain the arms system.

In those adult education programs classified as 'enrichment' (or, in more direct terms, recreational), or even those classified as 'continuing education' (which may have some direct bearing on the way people live or make a living), there is little if any consideration of subjects dealing with global issues and far fewer with peace education. The notable exception to this norm is the 'folk high schools' in some Western European countries where courses on world problems or international relations are sometimes offered, and in a few continuing education programs in the United States organized by the extension division of universities where similar programs are offered.

Courses in the European folk high school (for example, the Västerhaninge Folk High School in Sweden) are somewhat better than those in the United

States. They tend to be more globally orientated than US courses which, in contrast, tend towards the traditionally narrow foreign policy perspective. They often are concerned with the inequalities between the industrial and developing countries, and therefore can be said to deal with the conditions necessary for peace. Most do not, however, confront directly such causes of war as the arms race, nor do they examine in detail the effects of military spending on the development process. While folk high schools have taken some steps forward, they still have a long way to go to fulfil the objectives of disarmament education. Furthermore, such courses are attended, for the most part, by persons who already are motivated by a desire for peace and concerned with human rights. Individuals who are not yet aware of the severity of the problem - those who probably are most in need of such education - rarely elect to take such courses. This implies a failure on the part of adult education programs to offer adequate guidance to students in their program choices, as well as a lack of imagination in creating courses intrinsically interesting to persons who might not already be motivated about reversing the arms race and strengthening prospects for peace. Both of these shortcomings are serious obstacles to adequate adult education about disarmament.

Life-long learning is becoming more significant in educational programming and development in most countries of the world. It is crucial that such programs be reviewed and adequate attention be given to the development of disarmament-related curricula and activity. Citizenship 're-education' of adults should be as widespread as citizenship education for adolescents.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Much of the responsibility for the overwhelming lack of attention given to disarmament in our various educational processes thus may be seen to lie within our educational systems and programs themselves. However, this responsibility must be said to lie ultimately in political leadership (or, more accurately, in the failure of such leadership) - in the major

influences on public attitudes and in the main sources of public information, namely, governments and the media. The most serious obstacle to disarmament and to disarmament education is the all too pervasive failure of political leadership to communicate and elaborate upon the concept of general and complete disarmament, and to present it as one option to be pursued within the realm of arms policy.

The full recognition and application of the guiding principles outlined in the 1974 UNESCO Recommendation,[18] which calls for 'a global perspective, an understanding and respect for various cultures, awareness of global interdependence', and most important of all, 'decision-making based on free discussion and value judgements based in rational analysis of relevant facts and factors', would go a long way towards counteracting - even gradually altering - this state of affairs. These guiding principles cannot be fulfilled without attention to the issues and problems of disarmament, and the ethical and civic aspects of education called for in the Recommendation. They constitute, in essence, a call to make education an instrument for transition from a war to a peace system. Only through a 'critical analysis of the historical and contemporary factors of an economic and political nature underlying the contradictions and tensions between countries, together with the study of ways of overcoming these contradictions, which are the real impediments to understanding true international co-operation and the development of world peace', will disarmament and the peace system be attained. Only through such measures can education help to achieve 'the true interest of peoples and their incompatibility with the interests of monopolistic groups holding economic and political power which practice exploitation and foment war.'[19]

The moral, civic, cultural, scientific, and technical elements of international education must focus clearly on the varied and crucial issues of disarmament. Questions concerning the ethical acceptability of weapons

of mass destruction and the arms trade must be explored, together with such issues as the civic responsibility of citizens to question governmental policies that encourages arms development and arms trade. How secure is a nation in which acute human needs go unfulfilled because of enormous expenditure of resources on weapons production? Should the scientific and technical expertise of the human family be used to so great an extent on the perfection of weaponry and on techniques of warfare? Learners in all environments, citizens of all societies, must be able to reflect constructively on these and like questions, and to offer responses which can help bring about the structural changes needed to move the world from the war system to a peace system.

4. NOTES

This paper is revised and abstracted from a longer study prepared by the author for a UNESCO seminar on 'Obstacles to Disarmament and the Ways of Overcoming Them'. The entire study, conducted under a contract with the Peace Education Commision of the International Peace Research Association, is available from the Division of Human Rights and Peace of UNESCO. The document number is SS-78/Conf. 613/13. The statements and opinions are those of the author alone and do not reflect the opinions of UNESCO.

1. In this paper 'disarmament' will refer to those processes which are intended to lead from the present system of armed nation-states, each charged with its own defense (the war system), to an international system in which nations need not be armed nor be responsible for their own defense, having assigned the security function of the international community to some form of global authority charged with peacefully resolving disputes and defining the rights of the member states (a peace system). 'General and complete disarmament' will refer to the goal of reducing arms among nations to only those necessary to maintain domestic order, a goal virtually synonymous with 'a peace system' in which institutions appropriate for conflict resolution, peacekeeping, and the defense of the rights of nations and persons have been

established collaterally with the reduction of arms. 'Arms control' will refer only to efforts to prevent an increase in the volume of arms production and/or their development. 'Arms limitation' will refer to agreements among armed States to maintain and not go beyond a specific level of weaponry, in terms of volume and destructive capacity. It should be noted that arms limitation and arms control assume no basic change in relationships among and between States, nor in the international security system, whereas disarmament, particularly general and complete disarmament, assumes a major change in the international political system. It is towards achieving such a change that education should be directed.

'Disarmament education' will be used here to mean education for the promotion of general and complete disarmament. The objectives of such education should be: (1) to enable people to understand the four concepts defined in the previous paragraph; (2) to acquire some knowledge of what will be required to achieve successful results under the rubric of each concept; (3) to appreciate actual differences between the 'limitation/control' and 'disarmament' concepts, especially as regards the changes in relationships among States and the new global institutions which will be required to replace the former concepts with the latter. Education for disarmament also should prepare citizens (4) to understand the purposes and operations of these global institutions, (5) to participate in their planning, and (6) to support governmental endeavors to bring them into being. Disarmament education should be presented from a global perspective; it should be comprised of such subjects as arms and security, conflict resolution, the functions of conflict, and the means of protecting human and national rights through diverse institutions at all levels particularly the global level. A focus upon the economics of the world community, especially as regards the conversion of much of the world's present productive capacity from military to peaceful

uses, also is crucial to such education, as are other measures towards arms control and disarmament such as denuclearized zones, test bans, and no first-use agreements. In short, disarmament education must deal not only with armaments, but also with conflict, human rights, economic development, and policies for structural change.

2. This poll was taken by the author during the period November 1976 - March 1977.

3. Closely related to this particular fear was the lack of trust of other nations, particularly (but not exclusively) nations in competition or conflict with one another. Some even noted hatred as part of this fear, especially of political, racial, or national groups.

4. See UNESCO, Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1974), IV-9.

5. Ibid., III-4b

6. Ibid., III-6

7. Nance, J. The Gentle Tasaday (New York; Harcourt Brace, 1975)

8. Galtung, J., C.Beck, and J. Jasstad, Educational Growth and Educational Disparity, (University of Oslo, 1973), a study prepared for UNESCO.

9. Reardon, B. 'Beyond Nationalism: Education and Survival', in D. Allen and J. Hecht, eds., Controversies in Education (Philadelphia: W.B. Saunders Co., 1973)

10. For information, write Committee on Militarism in Education, Box 271, Nyack, New York 10960, USA.

11. Nelson, J., Nationalistic Education, a paper presented at the National Council for the Social Studies Convention in Washington DC, in November 1976.

12. 'Between War and Peace: The Quest for Disarmament', Bulletin of Peace Proposals, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1975).

13. See the survey carried out for UNESCO by the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development. Available from COPRED, 361 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, 702 S. Wright Street, Urbana, IL61801, USA.

14. Note the work of the National Peace Academy Campaign, 122 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002, USA. Also the International Peace Academy, 777 UN Plaza, New York City 10017, USA.

15. For information, write Coporation Integral para el Desarrolo Cultural y Social, Apartada Aereo 20439, Bogota, Columbia.

16. The Philippine model is co-ordinated by Dr Ludivina, Chief Research Officer, Department of Education and Culture, Quezon City, The Philippines.

17. The programs attempt to build a sense of cultural identity and unique character among the participants while simultaneously engendering a sense of their place in the world and the potential contribution they can make to a peaceful and just world order. The learning experiences incorporate concepts of peace as these operate in families and local communities as well as on the global level, the learners are encouraged to take up responsibility for the development of peaceful relations in all spheres of human relations, at both 'micro' and 'macro' levels. Both programs also emphasise the equal participation of women and men in the process of building peace and therefore incorporating the exploration of 'feminine values' as related to peace and of the present limited degree of women's participation in policy-making related to issues of war and peace.

18. UNESCO, op. cit., (note 4).

19. All quotes from UNESCO, op. cit.

Acknowledgements

Grateful acknowledgements to the Bulletin of Peace Proposals for permission to reproduce this paper and to Len Munnik for the illustrations on page 8 and 16.

The Centre for Peace Studies was established in 1980 to provide a national advice and information service on all issues relating to education for peace.

Occasional Paper No. 1
Education for Peace : What Does It Mean?
David Hicks

Occasional Paper No. 2
Culture, Race and Peace: Tasks and Tensions in the Classroom
Robin Richardson

Occasional Paper No. 3
Education As If People Really Mattered
Patrick Whitaker

Occasional Paper No. 4
Studying Peace: The Educational Rationale
David Hicks

Occasional Paper No. 5
Futures Education: Why We Need to Teach for Tomorrow
Richard Slaughter

Occasional Paper No. 7
Peace Education: The Australian Connexion
David Hicks

Occasional Paper No. 8
Children and the Threat of Nuclear War
Ruth Davies

Details of these and other publications can be obtained from Ruth Davies, Information Officer, Centre for Peace Studies, S. Martin's College, Lancaster LA1 3JD